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283 designating the number of strands in a rope (*tou'a*), the word *tua* was
322 used as a prefix, *tua to'u* meaning to triple and *tua fa* to quadruple. Thus *tou'a tua to'u* signified three-strang rope, *tou'a tua fa*, four-strand, and so on.

322 The adzes used in wood-work appear to have been always of stone,
412 although Quiros (25, vol. 1, p. 28) speaks of adzes of "thick fishbone and shells." It appears that for the northern half of the group at least, the island of Ei Ao was a center for the industry of making adz heads, on account of good stone being found there, but the adzes were made everywhere out of the best available stone.

To'i (*or toki*), was the generic term for adzes. There were doubtless many special terms for various kinds but only a few of them are known. Among these are *toki paopao*, a large adz (8), *toki tui pu*, a very large adz with a handle four feet long for canoe-making, and *toki-ouao* (8), described by Dordillon. The adz handle consisted of a crooked piece of wood (fig. 16, *a*), usually *fau*, according to Linton. In a chant descriptive of canoe-making, *noni* is mentioned as being used for that purpose but that such was the case is very doubtful, as *noni* wood is too soft. Colored, ornamental sennit lashings were used in binding the head to the handle. A lashing mentioned in the chant above referred to was called *humu a Tana-oa* (lashing of *Tana-oa*). One of the string figures collected by [524] Mrs. Handy is called by the same name. The finding of this string figure furnishes us, therefore, with a definite and interesting example of the derivation of ornamental lashing designs from string figures. According to Linton the stone head was wrapped in bark cloth before being bound with the sennit, the cloth binding to the stone head better than did the hard coconut fiber. Sacred adzes (*toki mana*) were used in coffin-making.

STONEWORK

324 Only the briefest mention will be made of stonework since this is a subject studied and described in detail by Linton. Skilled professionals directed the labor of making the stone platforms (*paepae*), that were used in connection with houses, feast places, tomb-temples, and other sacred places. In platform construction a core of earth or rubble, or both, was encased by walls made of three types of stone: common blocks or boulders (*ke'a*), which are to be found everywhere in the valleys and streams, furnished the major part of the material used in the walls, roundish, smooth beach-boulders (*kivu*) were used for horizontal, ornamental rows in the side-walls of some terraces, and for sections of the top pavements; and squarely cut blocks (*ke'etu*) of soft, reddish, volcanic stone or coral served as a curbing to trim the edges of certain section of elaborate platforms

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526 481 the other side. Some of them would swim about the ship for the greatest part of the day, without ever appearing tired. Mufau . . . has of his own accord run up the main-mast many times together, and thrown himself from it into the sea, to the great astonishment of the spectators. . . . It was impossible to see, without equal shuddering and astonishment, how he would spring from such a height, and balance himself in the air for some seconds with his feet drawn up against his body, so as to keep his head up: from the force of the fall, and the great weight of his body, he came with so violent a plunge into the water, that several seconds elapsed before he appeared again upon its surface.

Surf riding (*hoko*) was a sport for men, women, and children, where there were beaches that made it possible. Surf riders never stood erect as in Hawaii. The surfboard was called *papa a'a tai*. Dordillon gives *pakoao* as a term used for an amusement participated in by two people, one being borne inshore on the crest of a breaker while another person, coming from the shore, passed under him.

CHILDREN'S GAMES

524 Top spinning (*niu patu*) was a favorite pastime of boys. It seems that in ancient times tops (*niu*) were spun both by whipping and with a cord. In the story of Pohu it is recounted how Pohu won a top-spinning contest with his top, which was named Te-niu-to'o-i-Fiti.

In the same story other competitions are mentioned, such as stilt walking, drum beating, and playing musical instruments. Another game of boys was kite flying. Kites (*pako*) were made of bark cloth in the form shown in figure 27, *c*. Boys amused themselves by shooting shrimps and small fish in holes with small bows (*pana*) and bamboo darts (*kohe*), and put in much time also in practicing with the sling and spear, and at the games played by the men (*vaeake, teka, kaokao*).

Langsdorff (18, pp. 172-173) describes the following game:

> Under the title of playthings may be mentioned one which consists of a stick about a foot long and an inch thick. A hole is bored in it at one end, through which is run a peg five or six inches in length, and at the point of the peg is struck a little ball of cocoa thread. The stick is then struck with another, so that the ball is thrown up into the air, and the dexterity of the thing is to catch it again upon the point of the peg.

Children of both sexes amused themselves by walking on half coconut-shells. The foot was placed on the convex surface. A string, which was attached to the shell, passed up between the toes and was held taut in the hands. Another child's game, called *pohutu*, was played with small balls made of *fau* leaves rolled up and bound with strips of pandanus. These were swung on a cord and batted with the hand. The balls made in this way were also used in the game called *pei*, which is described sepa-

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rately a little farther on. Children competed with each other in trying to recite the greatest number of words while the breath was held. Dordillon gives the following terms which his translations indicate were names of children's games: *matapo*, blind man's buff (introduced, according to informants); *matito*, a game consisting of throwing a ball so that it fell in a small circle (said to be introduced); *maueva* and *pohuto ku'a*, jumping rope; *neo*, hide and seek; *kou*, a game which consisted in trying to guess in which hand an object was hidden, also called *koi*. String figures were made for amusement by women and children as well as for practical use in furnishing designs for ornamental lashings.

OTHER GAMES[a]

Kai Patu

Kai patu, a guessing game for men, women, and children, was played with a piece of bark cloth rolled into a small pellet between the right thumb and index finger. Somewhat as in our play of "Which hand is it in?", the endeavor of an opponent was to guess under which finger the player had concealed the pellet.

There were three methods of transferring the pellet from its resting place between the right thumb and index finger to the other hand, and an opponent was allowed four guesses for each method before the player proceed to the next method of transfer. The player won the game when he was able to deceive his opponent twelve successive times. The first method of transfer consisted in entering the right thumb and index (the pellet between them) into a circle formed by the left thumb and index held tip to tip, and snapping the circle through the right digits in such a manner as sometimes to leave the tapa pellet between the left digits, sometimes to retain it in the right. Efficacy was added to the sleight-of-hand by blowing upon the fingers as the transfer was accomplished.

The second method of transfer consisted in spreading the left hand, palm-down, upon the lap and snapping the right thumb and index finger (the pellet between them) from under each of the left-hand digits, so as to leave the bit of cloth under one of them or retain it where it was. The third method consisted in snapping the right thumb and index finger between the palm of the left hand and each digit, so as to leave the pellet between a finger and the palm of the left hand.

If the opponent were wrong in the first of his four guesses allowed for a method of transfer, the player cried, *"Kewa"*; if wrong the second time, *"Fakia"*; if the third, *"Maieno"*; if the fourth, *"Fitu e vau ua rike."*

[a] The game of *kai patu*, the genealogical game, and the string figures were recorded and are here described by Willowdean C. Handy.

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524 These terms are the same as those used in the game of *teka*, with the exception of the fourth, which combines the fourth and fifth of *teka*. It seems probable that either my informant or I was mistaken as to the number of guesses allowed for each step and that there were really five. Whenever the opponent guessed right, no word was said, but the pellet was passed to him and he became the hider.

A Genealogical Game

Pei was a mother's game invented to teach children their genealogies and give the mothers a chance to boast of the number of their offspring. It was customary for mothers to bring their children to the feast place (*taha ko'ina*), there to vie with one another in this good-humored competition. Using two candlenuts as juggling balls, or sometimes two balls made of fau leaves bound with pandanus strips, each mother, in rhythm with the tossing of these balls, chanted the following *pei* (the names here used are typical possibilities—each player inserted the names of her own children).

CHANT	EXPLANATION
Muamua Teiki	Teiki, first-born,
Teiki, Ani	Teiki, then Ani (second-born)
Ani, Hotu	Ani, then Hotu (third-born)
Hotu, Poha	Hotu, then Poha (fourth-born), etc.
Uapao	Complete
Tatou mei oto	We from inside
To tatou kui	Our mother,
Kui aha?	What mother?
Kui haatepeiu	Mother a chiefess
Motua aha?	What father?
Motua hakaiki	Father a chief
E vii, e vii	Roll, roll,
Ta tatou pei	Your *pei* (balls)
I tai o Ahuau	To the sea Ahuau (name of the sea by Atu Ona, Hiva Oa)
Ui mai na tupuna	The grandparents ask,
"N'ai tenei pei?"	"Whose *pei* is this?"
"Na matou."	"Ours."
"N'ai otou?"	"Whose are you?"
"Na Peke."	"Peke's" (the father's name)
"Na Peke?"	"Peke's?"
"Na Moho"	"Moho's" (the father's father's name)
"Na Moho?"	"Moho's?"
"Na Tutu"	"Tutu's" (the great-grandfather's)
"Na Tutu?"	"Tutu's?" etc.
Haa to ii	Apparently meaningless refrain
Haa to aa	Apparently meaningless refrain
Tu ai tua	Apparently meaningless refrain
Tu ai feani	Apparently meaningless refrain
Feani tiiti	Apparently meaningless refrain

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Feani taata	Apparently meaningless refrain
Ui mai na vehine me iuna	The women on high ask,
Uoa, Oupoto,	Uoa, Oupoto,
Ou to Katekahi atu tua	Katekahi (names of three ancestresses far back)
Ua vo tuu pei-e	?
Ua vo tuu	?

According to another informant, only the name of the first-born was used, and the chant was repeated for each of the other children.

String Figures [18]

Pehe, string figures (cat's cradles) made on the hands, are a favorite pastime today of women and children and even of men; but formerly they were of more significance than their present use as amusement would indicate. In the old days there were *tuhuna pehe*, who originated string figures and used them as patterns for lashings for canoes, coffins, houses, adzes, and other things. The sacred chant called *"oho au o Motuhaiki"* (see Chants), which was recited for the sacred first-born, contains a reference to a string figure called *na humu o Tana-oa*, which was evidently the pattern for binding the child's sacred adz:

> "Put it on the handle
> Fix it well on the crooked *mi'o* stick
> Bind it with black and red sennit spun of fine fiber
> Bind it with the binding of Tana-oa (*humu o Tana-oa*)."

Mr. Linton was told the story of Aka, who went to the island of "Kaukau o meia," where he made cord out of the fiber of the banana tree and learned the *pehe* (string figures). It is possible that the patterns were made of such fiber before being copied in coconut fiber (*puu kaha*) for lashings.

String figures in the Marquesas are varied in technique of making and in the form of pattern evolved. Some are made in the usual method by interweaving, exchanging, and dropping loops upon the fingers and a final extension upon both hands; some are woven on the fingers of one hand, which act as pegs; some are made by twisting the cord around the hand, arm, or foot in a manner apparently complicated, but the figure unravels at a touch; and some are played by two persons, who interweave their loops.

The figures evolved fall into several types: those resulting in a single fixed pattern; those growing into more and more complicated figures from a single start; those dissolving into a series of simpler figures; those continuing endlessly in a cycle of changes; those which slide back

[18] Detailed descriptions of the processes of making about thirty Marquesan string figures have been obtained and drawings of the figures have been made.

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524 and forth with the pulling of a string, to the accompaniment of words; three-sided figures; figures made on four hands; and trick figures that disappear with a single jerk of the string.

[552] All the figures are named: some for an object which the pattern resembles—a pool of Hakahaa, the squarish ray fish, a house, a *kava* bowl, the tropic bird, the intestinal membrane, lightning, the island of Ua Huka; some for objects used by the natives, but without any resemblance to them in form, such as a sweet-smelling wreath or a stone pounder; some for mythological characters or objects—the *kava* bowl of Akaui, the canoe of Hai, Tohiau (a hero), the many roads of Tafai, the fish of Tana-oa, the house of Tonahei, the house of Atanua; some for places where the design was used possibly for lasings, such as the back post of the house or the attachment of breadfruit net; some for the action of the figure which seems to resemble the activity of some animal or person, such as a thief sneaking about or an eel slipping through the fingers.

DANCING

ANCIENT DANCING

535 The natives of this generation know practically nothing of the dancing of ancient times. A few can give vague descriptions. No one can show how any of the dances were actually done. Sufficient was learned, however, to prove three significant points: there was anciently no dance corresponding to the hula of Hawaii and *upaupa* of Tahiti, of which the hip and abdominal movements are the characteristic feature; there was solo dancing, rather than group dancing; there were no war dances.

Few of the descriptions of dances and dancing given by the early visitors are of any value. Krusenstern (16, pp. 176-177) says, "Their dancing consists in hopping for a considerable time on the same spot, frequently raising the hands in the air, and moving the fingers with great velocity."

Langsdorff (18, p. 158) also describes dancing that he witnessed:

> The principal of these assemblies are the dancing festivals. The performers in the dances make many springs and pantomomic gestures, with quick movements of the hands and arms, without moving much from one spot. It seems as if the people of Nukahiwa, and the same may be said with regard to many other uncivilized nations, mean to represent in their pantomimic dances most of the common actions of life, as fishing, slinging stones, running on stilts, swimming, and the like.

Stewart (26, pp. 234-235) gives a fairly good picture of a performance that he saw:

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The characteristics of the rarer type of tiki headed pounder (Pl. LIV, *A*) are as follows: 4/2 531

The features are carved in high relief and the whole effect is that of two heads made in the round and placed back to back, the faces projecting out beyond the oval neck at either end. The mouth is narrower than in faces of the common type and has a greater vertical width. The lips are thin and rounded and the tongue broad and prominent. The nose is small and almost naturalistic in its proportions, and juts out from the face. The eyes are large, with upper and lower edges of differing curve, a high rim, and a well marked longitudinal ridge across the eye ball. They are directed to the side, and the rear corners slope downward and backward so steeply that the ears, shown as simple hooks, are at the level of the corners of the mouth. The top of the head is rounded and only slightly higher than the upper edge of the eye rings.

The finding of three specimens of practically identical form seems to indicate that these objects constituted a distinct type, but the natives can give no information on this point. The convention of the carving differs considerably from that employed on any other artifacts but is reminiscent of that of certain large stone heads used as architectural decorations. Pounders of this sort are certainly pre-European and it seems probable that they either had a special ceremonial significance, or were the product of some local school of carving which became extinct at an early time.

POUNDERS FOR INFANT FOOD

Special pounders were used to crush the fresh water shrimps which were fed to infants as a purgative before they were suckled for the first time. (See Pl. LIV, *C*.) They are smaller than the *popoi* pounders, and have an oval instead of a round base, only slightly concave sides, and no distinct neck. The top is oval in cross section and usually projects slightly beyond the body at either end. In the best made specimens the top is usually slightly hollowed along its center, but in one specimen it is smoothly rounded. In using these pounders, the body of the implement was grasped in the hand with the index finger extending lengthwise over the top, and the shrimps were crushed with a grinding motion rather than direct blows. 4/2 [853]

SALT POUNDERS

Certain small pounders are said by the natives to have been used for grinding coarse salt left in hollows of the rocks by the evaporation of sea water. These appear to have been fairly common in the island of Nuku Hiva but are rare or lacking elsewhere in the Marquesas. They are characterized by a long, thin headless neck, or body, which flares out rather abruptly at the base. The base is either round or oval. (See Pl. LIV, *D*.) 4/2 263

CHILDREN'S POUNDERS

A few very small pounders which were seen in the Marquesas were said to have been toys; although, as some of them showed considerable wear, they may 4/2 524

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412 524 also have been used as pestles to grind medicines or pigment. According to informants little pounders of this sort were made for an adopted child in order that he might pound food for his pig. All those seen were miniature reproductions of *popoi* pounders, although never of phallic type. One specimen, of *opu* type, is only 3¼ inches high and 3 inches wide at the base. (See Pl. LIV, *B*.)

CONICAL POUNDERS

412 531 The natives recognized Conical Pounders as a distinct class, but they appear to have no name for them and can assign no special use; so the recognition is probably nothing more than a realization that these implements differ from all other pounders and cannot be placed in any of the regular categories. They are rare; only five examples were located.

The conical pounders are characterized by heavy conical bodies which entirely lack the slender neck and graceful bottom flare of ordinary *popoi* pounders, and by the peculiar finish of the upper end, which bears a short transverse grip. In four of the five specimens this part is carved. In the uncarved specimen, the grip is formed by two short cylindrical knobs which jut out from opposite sides of the top of the implement. Between their inner ends there is a rounded transverse ridge. (See Pl. LII, *F*.) Two of the carved pounders are large and two small. The size, shape and decoration of each pair are so closely similar as to indicate that they are either the work of the same artist or examples of an established type.

In the small pounders (Pl. LII, *D*) the grip is carved into a single human head, disproportionately large, with the face up.

The treatment of the head is decidedly naturalistic, the face being long and narrow with a projecting jaw. The mouth is almost circular, with thick rounded lips and a protruding tongue. The nose is high, with a sharp bridge; the cheeks sunken; and the eyes are in the form of long ovals, with a slight groove indicating the lower lid. The ears are indicated by shapeless knobs which are set above the level of the outer corner of the eye and do not appear to be connected to it. There is a suggestion of a smoothly rounded supra-orbital ridge. The head above the face is round and disproportionately short, its back projecting only slightly beyond the neck of the implement. In both specimens the execution is rather poor, the eyes being at slightly different levels.

In the large pounders (Pl. LII, *E*) the horizontal grip is divided into two equal parts by a transverse groove.

Each of these lobes is carved into a head, chin out. These heads, although worked out in less detail, are evidently much more closely related to those on the small pounders just described than to the ordinary Marquesan convention. They show the same projecting jaw, high nose, sunken cheeks, long oval eye, and knob ear. The mouth is not indicated. The carving is remarkably angular, suggesting the use of metal tools, but from certain details of the specimen examined it seems certain that they are pre-European.

These conical pounders offer an interesting problem, for they differ considerably from all other Marquesan types in both shape and decoration. The uncarved specimen was said by its donor to have been found in a sand dune in a small valley on the north side of Nuku Hiva. It is heavily patinated, suggesting a

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526 There appears to have been a second dart throwing game in which somewhat heavier darts were used.

In this game the darts were thrown at a mark. In throwing, the larger end of the dart was balanced upon the palm of the left hand, while the smaller end was held in the right hand with the index finger across the tip. The darts were held at about the height of the waist and were propelled with an underhand motion.

[171] Games similar to the Marquesan *teka* were of nearly universal occurence in Polynesia.

POHUTU

Pohutu consisted of bundles of fau leaves rolled up and bound with pandanus strips, the whole forming a ball about two inches in diameter. One of the pandanus strips was left projecting for some inches to form a handle. The game was played by a single child who held the pandanus strip in one hand and batted the ball with the other, or by two children, one of whom held the strip while the other struck the ball. *Pohutu* were also used in the *pei* game, in which geneologies were repeated. The *pei* game, as described by Handy, suggests a close resemblance between the *pohutu* and the well known *poi* balls used by the Maori.

BALL AND PIN GAME

Langsdorff (38, pp. 172-3) describes a toy concerning which no information was obtained. He says: 524

Under the title of playthings may be mentioned one which consists of a stick about a foot long and an inch thick. A hole is bored in it at one end through which is run a peg five or six inches in length, and at the point of the peg is stuck a little ball of coco-thread. The stick is then struck with another, so that the ball is thrown up into the air. The game is to catch the ball upon the point of the peg. It is very probable that they have other objects of amusement of a similar kind, which may be ranged as playthings, but no others came under my observation.

TOPS

Tops, called *niu*, are still extensively made and used in the group. They are made of fau wood, an average specimen being 7 inches long and 2½ inches in diameter, with a cylindrical body and pointed head. The shape is almost exactly that of an ordinary artillery shell. They are spun by means of a whip. This whip consists of a stick handle about one foot in length with a lash of fau bark 2½ to 3 feet long, which is braided to within a few inches of the tip. Several boys usually play at tops at the same time, the winner being the one who can keep his top in motion the longest.

BOW AND ARROW, AND SLINGS

526 411 The bow, called *pana*, was not a weapon in the Marquesas. It was sometimes used to shoot shrimp, and *po'oko*, a small fish which frequents the rocks,